/462 cont./

Chapter X

Masks

532 796 [122] The handsome masks, whose description I shall give further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kāwi and were /463/ in their [126] [241] normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

115 My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeytí on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

796 795 789 At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for example, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee. If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

796 The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

[535] The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

/463 cont./

796 203 578 The attraction of the carnival consists of the enormous consumption of kāwi and alcohol which takes place then. Men and women drink, one trying to outdo the other; and, under the influence of drink, old angers and secret hates are awakened and the most excited provoke each other and come to blows.

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Fig. 120. Chiriguano Indians wearing masks. (Photo. by the R. P. H. Catinari.)

796 203 578 /464/ The "captain" must then call them to order and separate the combatants.

Some people increase the tumult by blowing into their 796 534 sénéné (long whistles).

Sexual passions become aroused, and the men begin to 796 832 whirl around the women, whom they entreat, a calabash of kāwi in the hand, while reciting to them in a singsong tone 786 539 pieces of verse of this type:

Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no	For me
Epuka, puka maipora	Laugh harmoniously
Seve no.	For me.

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Eyu šekuama	Come and kiss me
Šemireko mi	My little wife
Diyuru emesie	Give me thy mouth
Tuiša dipota	I love thee much
Še songo pe	With my heart

Ime deresa ikavi	Thou hast pretty eyes
Ime diyuro misiray	Thou hast a little mouth
Tuiša dipota	I love thee much
Pairamo ayporu deve.	For that I am going to ask for thee.

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During this time young or old men with their faces covered by a mask (añawasu) run here and there, force the people to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

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The feast lasts as long as there is kāwi or alcohol. At the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the añawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home.

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Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

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The carnival festivity such as I have just described involves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the *Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeytí are pagans.*

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The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the dead, as their name indicates (aña: spirit; wasu: great). As in the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[Text continues on p. 329]

C 796 24 [171] C [177] A 796 241 Ce 796 24 532 C 796 [177] [177] C [532] C [177] C 796 535 [536]

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descendants or relatives the fertility of the fields and the abundance of the future harvest. These masked festivals have their counterpart in the famous ceremonies of the populations of the Negro River, the details of which Koch-Grünberg has made known to us. Besides, it is probable that the Chiriguano borrowed these ceremonies, and especially the masks, from the Chané. It is the racial brothers of the Chané, the Arawak of the Negro River, who celebrate these festivals with the most splendor. The Chané of the Parapití still accord to these ancient rites more importance than the Chiriguano, and their masks crowned with immense tufts of feathers are, it appears, more sumptuous than those of their old Guarani enemies.

In the missions the carnival has lost its purely pagan significance and has become contaminated with usages which the Chiriguano have borrowed from the half-breeds. Nino (pp. 267-270) gives a good description of them, of which I shall summarize the principal features.

The festival is directed by a personage wearing an old-man mask. He stops at each corner of the square, recommending peace and harmony to all.

Then they give themselves over to different games: masked personages scatter bean pods or corn bran upon the dancers.

Young men, masked but almost entirely naked, daub themselves with mud and try to soil all those who have new garments. These two customs can have only a Bolivian origin.

Individuals who are also masked mime a combat between a jaguar and a bull which is finally put to death by a fanciful butcher. Then they pass on to the pleasures of the dance. "The dancers form a large circle by joining hands and dance thus three times. Three times also they squat down, and three more times they pass under the extended arms of a couple of the same circle, and finally the same number of times they press against one another, forming a big mass, their faces turned toward the outside and their hands folded. They remain in this position until another couple dances around them. These do not hold each other by the hand. The man chases the woman and tries to grab her. She avoids him and goes to hide in the middle of the others."

/465 cont./

796 Toward the end of the festivity, the men improvise a seat by crossing sticks. They have a child sit on it and form a bulwark for him with bamboos. The others come and rain a hail of blows on him, without hurting him, however. Then they have him get down and begin this ceremony over again three times in different places.

On the second lap, the masked individuals go from house to house and receive from each person the strangest objects: bean pods, watermelon rinds. On the third lap, young and old begin to weep.

To finish up, they go in a procession to throw away the masks and all wash their faces and hands.

/466/ Description of the Masks

Plate LXXVI

532 1. Mask of toroboki wood (light, soft wood). The face is painted white and framed by a black ribbon fastened with small wooden pegs. The eyebrows, mouth, and the parallel lines which cross the bridge /Fig. 121 appears here/ of the nose have been painted in black. The edges of the nose are emphasized with two green lines. On each cheek, two concentric circles, one black and the other green with a black dot in the center. On each side, a hole through which passes a cord serving to hold the mask over the face.

Small cavities along the periphery seem to indicate that at the time of the festival feathers were stuck along the edge of the mask exactly as on the following specimen.

2. This mask is the one which, in my collection, is in the best condition. The face, whitened with a substance similar to lime, is bordered with feathers stuck into the wood. The eyebrows are painted in black, as is the upper lip. The mouth is represented by a slit. The facial painting on both the cheeks and the forehead is green, except for the center dot, which in each disk is brown.

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196 18 111 This same thing is not true with respect to the external demonstrations of worship. The Chiriguano, like every savage people, have no temples, priests, or ceremonial to regulate manifestations of worship. Does this also demonstrate that they completely lack external demonstrations of veneration of a god? It is not easy to give a categorical answer regarding this, because [186] if it is the truth, as now seems to be the case, for I have not been able to discover any fact which shows the existence of that worship, this could be explained if we take into account the fact that the savage, because of his condition of isolation in the midst of the forest, is distrustful; he looks at the white man with suspicion. This is more than sufficient reason for him to hide his religious acts from the view of the latter.

Nobody could deny us the exactness and solid foundation of this observation, since it is a fact that civilized men, even among themselves, are ashamed to practice religious acts for human reasons, from whence comes the fact that they neither fulfill the duties of their religion nor come to the churches, and, what is worse, they make a show of a religious indifference which is very far from what in fact they feel.

Let us agree then that the Chiriguano does profess some religion, like all other peoples of the world.

This conclusion will be corroborated by what we are going to see in the following sections.

Divinities

776 That the Chiriguano have some divinities is undeniable, but it is very difficult to determine what character they have and to what category they belong according to the concepts of these savages. This is the reason why it is impossible to determine with certainty whether or not they /130/ profess polytheism or monotheism, when one considers the diversity of excellence, power, and pre-eminence which they attribute to their divinities.

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times in different locations (1).

1. At the carnival, during the three days, there are women who dress like men and men who dress like women, but both cover their faces well so as not to be recognized; this was also taught them by the white man.

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[152] On the second circuit all the Agüeros, the masked ones, a mestizo term, ask from house to house for provisions, and they accept everything, even bean pods and watermelon rinds, and on the third circuit, which is the farewell, there begins the wailing of big and small masked persons, laden with provisions and scraps; these weepers really make the old people and others cry, because some of them are thinking of their departed ones who are not present at this festivity which is ending, and others perhaps because they think they will not get to see another carnival. I questioned an old man who was really crying, and he gave me the preceding answer. When the last circuit ends with the drums muffled as a sign of sorrow, all of them, riders, dancers, and agüeros, go out of the town and go to a place where they throw away the masks and immediately go to the river, or a spring, to wash their hands and faces a little (2).

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2. All of the foregoing games in Ivu were taught them by the same white man whom I have mentioned, and in the beginning he taught them by demonstration, causing astonishment, particularly in the women and the old persons; many of the said games are immoral, especially the circles and the massed group.

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Easter

Forty days later the Chiriguano has another fiesta, that of the Pascua de Resurrección /Easter/, which was introduced by the whites; the old Indians call it nice because it is quiet, as they call the carnival very noisy.

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●796 call the carnival very noisy. There is nothing special about it and it lasts three days; /271/ some play the violin, and men and women sing the Alleluja. Couples hold hands as they walk through the streets. If both are women, they walk with their [533] arms about each other's neck. They sing through the streets [554] and in the houses and in front of them; in this latter case it is a sign of esteem for a family. The words are few: Osi ma Pascua, [539] alleluja, Easter has come, alleluia, Ucuera yema Yandeya, alleluja, Our Master came back to life, alleluia (1).

1. The song of Alleluia begins as follows: Santísima Trinidad /Most Holy Trinity/, osi ma pascua Aleluya; aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, etc. Ucuera yema—Yandeya, Jesucristo; aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, [194] etc. The s of Osi is pronounced as though it were double.

000 /272/

Chapter Twelve

Offensive and Defensive War

Introduction

There is no people or nation in the world which has not experienced the horrors of a war more or less bloody, more or less prolonged, and more or less disastrous. Troy burns, and Aeneas, the founder of the Roman Empire, takes advantage of the confusion, avails himself of the very darkness as his shield, and saves himself. /The remainder of p. 272 and the first paragraph *on p. 273 are omitted in the translation.* The following illustration appears opposite p. 273. The remainder of p. 273 follows./

8: Schmidt--115 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

Plate XIV

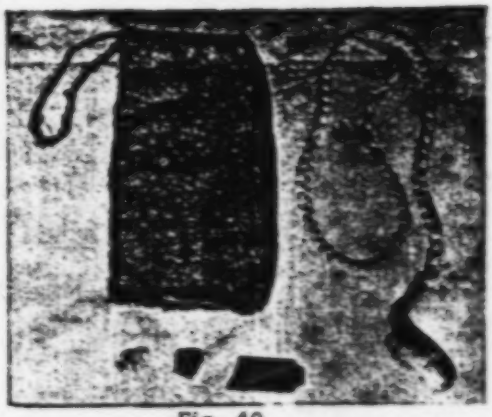

Fig. 40

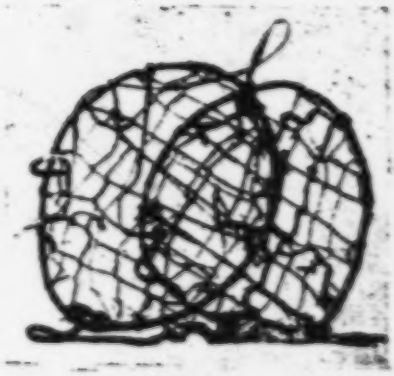

Fig. 41

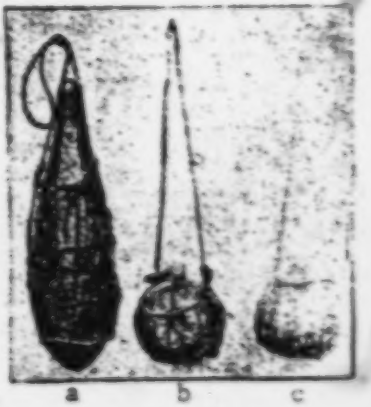

Fig. 42

Fig. 43

/The captions are on p. 117./

8: Schmidt--117 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/Captions for Plates XIV and XV./

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Fig. 40. (I. A. 516) Implements for making fire (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 516a), bag as receptacle for the implements, length 16 cm., width 8.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 516b), cotton wick, length 62 cm.;
c (I. A. 516c), receptacle for the end of the wick, nest of a species of wasp, length 4.2 cm.;
d (I. A. 516d), piece of a metal file, length 4 cm.
e, flints.

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Fig. 41. (I. A. 583) A pair of hoops for storing goods (Chiriguano), diameter 43 cm.

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Fig. 42. Calabashes for carrying water (Izozó):
a (I. A. 661), height 49.5 cm.;
b (I. A. 662), height 16 cm.;
c (I. A. 665), height 17.5 cm., made out of the fruit of the tree Crescentia Cuyeta /Crescentia cujete/.

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Fig. 43. Objects plaited out of palm leaves, used in religious festivities (Chiriguano):
a (I. A. 1439), length 72 cm.;
b (I. A. 1440), length 37 cm.

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Plate XV. Baked clay vessels for cooking foods (Chiriguano).

Fig. 44 (I.A. 414). -- Height 24 cm.
Fig. 45 (I.A. 418). -- Height 23.5 cm.
Fig. 46 (I.A. 413). -- Height 26 cm.
Fig. 47 (I.A. 419). -- Height 22 cm.
Fig. 48 (I.A. 412). -- Height 12 cm.
Fig. 49 (I.A. 417). -- Height 22 cm.

/90 cont./
000 preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les
792 Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud
[113] /Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363),

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

796 [126] **Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection**

I.A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 43b.)
I.A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 43a.)

[171] Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very common among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This
796 custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed,
797 as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual,
197 and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I, p. 462.

532 [529] The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1, Fig. 119. Métraux I, Plate 86 and Fig. 121.